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FLOTSAM AND JETSAM IN THE OCEAN OF LIFE

THE DRIFT TOWARD SOCIALISM

The Waste of Competition—A Quarrel About Gowns—Boycott and Ballot—Eight Hours in Government Plants—Birth-Rate Decline and Cause

Current Notes and Comment

Statistics show that there is a gradual decline of the birth rate in this country. The people cannot afford to raise families. They have such an anxious, driven-to-death time of it keeping their own stomachs from gnawing that they are afraid to bring more mouths into the world for fear their little ones would not have a decent and wholesome living. Then again young men cannot afford to marry on the increasingly small salaries and the increasing standards of living. The result of this latter fact is that our young people are getting more and more Frenchified, with profit sharks in the liquor and amusement business trying in every way to increase this tendency because it means more dollars to them. Our present civilization will meet one of the two certain fates. Either it will go down, as did the Roman empire, or, the people will see their danger and save and purify society by moving on to Socialism.

It will interest the wives of working-men who swelter in their little individual kitchens the year round to provide three frugal meals a day for a thoughtless husband who don't know better than to eat his vote for capitalistic parties, and are glad to have one change a year of cheap print dress while the same husbands are producing five times as much wealth as they enjoy, to learn that Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish are down at Newport-by-the-Sea, outdoing each other on the subject of costly gowns. Cheap prints will be the apparel of the workers' wives until their husbands know enough to vote for Socialism.

The late history for the grand Socialist advance made by our comrades in Belgium, shows what can be accomplished when the people are roused up to their true interests and quit relying on smooth mouthed capitalists or the lackeys of capitalism. Something is going to drop in this country when we really get our star-spangled Yankee blood up. In Belgium they did not have universal suffrage and it was necessary to make a fight for it. Here we have the chance to vote. The way is open, and the socialistic hosts are marshalling to take advantage of it.

Little by little the feeling is growing that something must be done to rescue domestic service from the class odium that hangs about it. We get away from our old prejudices so slowly! The work of the servant girl ought to be just as honorable as the work of the clerk, but it isn't. The "hired girl" is as much looked down upon socially as was the slave in the past. Socialism will dignify all work and make only sloth dishonorable. It will set all people to work, but it will make the conditions of toil and the hours so pleasant that people will then live indeed. It can't come any too soon.

With ragged clothes and an hungry stomach Charles F. Hazleton found a bicycle in a Chicago street and delivered it to a police station. "I was tempted to steal it," he said, "but I couldn't do that, although I was hungry." Sergeant Larkin and Mooney looked at the ragged clothing in amazement. "You are honest," said Sergeant Larkin. "It appears you would rather starve than steal." You are right sir," said the tramp. "I am hungry, but I believe honesty to be the best policy and follow it every time."

A new scheme has been devised by the Union Traction Company of Chicago to hold up the gripmen, motormen and conductors in its employ. They are to be placed under bonds of \$500 each to "protect the company from acts of carelessness or dishonesty." The American Surety Company furnishes the bond for 1 per cent. a year; so that the men will donate \$5 a year to keep the traction company's property in repair. It's a great scheme for the company. Will it induce the men to think a little?

A Catholic bishop of Cleveland has ordered prayers for the peace of the city. It would be much more sensible to pray for the city to own and operate the street cars and war from that source would cease.—Appeal to Reason.

Which suggests that the efficacy of prayer might still further be tested if the good bishop would "order prayers" for

the triumph of the people over their Christian oppressors through a shower of ballots for Socialism.

The miners of Girard, Ill., have sent out an appeal for financial aid. Their wages have been reduced to such a point that it is impossible for them to live. All communications should be addressed to W. O'Connor, chairman relief committee, Girard, Ill. With your money donation send along some Socialist literature. Many miners who are forced to appeal for bread have yet to learn that there is an effective way of ending their sufferings through Socialism.

The facile liar who can say, as a Chicago politician did a few days ago, that "employment in all branches of business is easy to obtain and never more remunerative," is a fit and proper eulogist of President McHanna, who, the same speaker said, has "sacredly and solemnly kept every pledge" of his party's platform, which, as everybody knows, is not true.

In slavery days great stress was laid on the blacks keeping their place. Today our richly bedecked and perfumed ladies are in a conspiracy to make the servant girl class "keep in their place" socially. While the daughters of these women entertain in rich drawing rooms the unfortunate kitchen girls must go out upon the streets for their sociability.

Social progress means a checking of the cosmic process at every step, and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process, the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be the fittest in respect of the whole of the conditions which exist, but of those who are ethically the best.—Prof. Huxley.

The Countess of Warwick has declared herself to be a convert from Toryism and a Socialist. She says that for ten years she has studied social questions deeply and now sees in Socialism the best path for doing good for the masses. She goes so far as to declare, with Social Democrats, that it is "the only path."

Have you caught on to it yet, that so long as the means of production (a social product and growth) are owned by a class and exploited by that class for private profit, so long will the working class have to struggle and suffer in the effort to get a living? Have you?

A little girl in Chicago concluded her evening prayer as follows: "And please, O Lord, take good care of yourself, too. If anything should happen to you, we couldn't have anyone but McKinley to depend upon, and he isn't doing as well as papa expected."

The Cleveland strikers are now boycotting the rich men of that city and will no doubt be able to put the latter to a great deal of inconvenience. A better way, however, would be to boycott the rich men's parties at the polls and vote for Social Democracy.

There is no greater humbug or falsity than our modern charity. It is not philanthropy to steal the products of the poor by legal means and endow colleges, asylums, etc. The true philanthropist would destroy the conditions which necessitate charity.

The strike of the printers and stereotypers against the New York Sun is being vigorously maintained. One of its latest features was an assault upon the stereotypers led by one Packard, business manager of the paper.

And now Socialism is gaining a foothold in the Transvaal. German Socialists have imported a large amount of literature and are spreading it broadcast among the Boers.

The income tax in Great Britain yielded a revenue of \$80,000,000 in 1896 and the inheritance tax nearly \$60,000,000, both furnishing one-third of Great Britain's revenue.

Prof. Frank Parsons says that the waste of energy caused by the capitalistic system reaches from thirty to forty billions of dollars in the United States annually.

If every man desired only what is right and just, there would be no millionaires and no paupers to curse and afflict the world.

According to translations from Portuguese papers, Socialism has taken firm root in the soil of Brazil, South America.

As daylight can be seen through very small holes, so little things will illustrate a person's character.

Are you a Socialist? What are you doing for Socialism? Every Socialist should be up and doing night and day, doing something to advance the cause of Socialism. Are you doing your share of the burden? Your share is to get at least one new subscriber to THE HERALD every week.

TRADES UNIONISM AND INDEPENDENT POLITICS

MACHINERY ELIMINATES SKILL

A Critical Examination of the Wage Question in its Relation to Trades Unionism and Politics—Solution Offered by Social Democratic Party

By William Mahoney, Nashville, Tenn.

The question, whether labor unions should engage in an independent political movement, is receiving much attention from progressive labor leaders, and is fast becoming recognized as the most pertinent as well as the most momentous question up for settlement. This is a most favorable symptom and portends much towards the final solution of the wage question. Next to knowing what is necessary is to know how to get it. Let the laboring people once become convinced that their salvation lies at the ballot box, and it will not be a great task to point out what they must vote for.

That great and radical changes are taking place in the industrial affairs of the world, no close observer will dare gainsay; that conditions today are not what they were a century nor even a quarter of a century ago, is a most palpable fact. The hand loom and the hand press are not the fittings of this age of steam, electricity and automatic machinery, and it might be said, liquefied air and other marvelous and mysterious forces recently developed.

Trades unions and organizations of wage workers are the results of conditions. They are the natural and logical outcome of the existing industrial system, which has, after a career of about a century and a half, finally reached its culmination and is now undergoing a transition stage. This industrial system is what is known as capitalism. It is the system that has produced employer and employee, each having antagonistic interests. The employer buying labor, as he might buy wheat and hogs, buys at the lowest possible figure; while the employee sells himself as he would a commodity. It is mawkish sentiment for one to say that the interests of employer and employee are identical and harmonious, for they can be no more so than the interests of any other buyer and seller.

Capitalism is a system wherein some men own and control the machinery of wealth production, such as land, tools, credit, etc., and who employ other men to operate these agencies of production, paying them for such service the smallest amount possible.

Now let us analyze this question of wages and endeavor to ascertain what governs such.

It is a common statement to hear it said that wages are governed by supply and demand. This is true only in a superficial sense. Relative wages are, in the different trades and in different localities so governed; but all wages have an absolute basis. In a state or condition of absolute freedom and independence wherein men have free and unlimited access to the opportunities of wealth production, every man gets the full products of his toil, as he pays no tribute to anyone. In this state, if one individual sought to engage another in service, the wages would be determined by what might be made on the best free opportunity available.

This must be evident to anyone who is capable of logical thought and reasoning. No one will work for less than he could make by self-employment as the opportunity for such self-employment becomes rarer or more inaccessible, it becomes more difficult to preserve the natural standard of wages, which decline constantly to the point of bare subsistence, unless prevented by artificial interference.

We may therefore lay it down as an axiomatic fact that wages are based on what an individual may produce on the best available free opportunity and if there be none, wages decline to the point of bare subsistence, unless prevented.

We have, through the monopolization of land by a comparative few, the adoption of machinery and the improved methods and processes of wealth production, together with the gigantic concentration of capital, long since passed the time of free opportunities, and, owing to the complex system of the social and industrial state, the actual and real nature of the law of wages is obscured, and as a result we find amongst those who ought to be better informed, the most erroneous ideas regarding this most vital question.

When the workers were obliged to bid against one another, it became evident that, unless opportunities were in excess of applicants, wages would go to the starvation point, and to avert this calamity those engaged in the different trades sought to control circumstances by limiting the number learning such trades, and thereby forcing the buyer of labor

to pay a higher wage. In its infancy trades unions did not recognize the universal relations between all wage workers, and as a result there are many contradictions between the theory and practice of trades union principles.

The essential nature of a trade union is a compact organization of all the workers in any one trade, the purpose of which is to arrest the downward tendency of wages. To accomplish this purpose it is necessary to compel by artificial conditions. The employer is forced to pay higher price for labor and he in turn charges the consumer this additional cost, together with a profit thereon to the consumer. So that as consumers of our own products we suffer a disadvantage. When all trades are organized and whatever increase that may be effected through organization is added to the products of such trades, we shall then have nullified the benefits of trades unions. This may seem false to those who have not followed the operations of industrial processes, but I defy controversy.

It is only as producers that we are at all benefited by unionism. When the product is sold to us we are at a disadvantage.

In the long career of unionism, it has never passed through the time when all labor was organized, because the benefits of unionism have never been convincing enough to induce complete organization, and for this reason we have never had an opportunity to judge from practical result just what the outcome of universal organization would be.

But from the partial experience in conjunction with abstract reasoning, we may arrive at practically unavoidable conclusions.

Now it goes beyond question that a union is a benefit as long as conditions may be controlled. That is to those inside it; but we must see that conditions have passed beyond the control and a stage has arrived wherein unions are practically powerless.

By the aid of machinery the necessity for skill is fast being eliminated. Children and women now do the work that formerly required skilled mechanics. Trades unions are thus prevented from limiting the number of operatives which weakens and after destroys the force of unions. In addition to this, nearly all great industries are under the control of great trusts which practically monopolize not only the purchase of labor, but the sale of products. Capital is thoroughly organized while labor is being hopelessly demoralized and organizations disintegrated. At this stage we have now arrived; labor is employing the crude weapons of a century ago to combat an enemy equipped with modern armor and weapons. Behind the courts, entrenched in the form of trusts, capital is invincible as far as the puny assaults of trade unions. At best the principle of pure trade union is arbitrary and imperfect, and never can effect the complete and final solution of the wage question.

There is only one way to forever dispose of the vexatious question, and that is by the total destruction of the system of capital and the substitution of a new and different system, and this can be effected only by politics.

And now at this critical time the union working people and all classes who seek a just and effective means of settling the urgent questions that appall them, are fortunate in having a means of accomplishing their end. The Social Democratic party is the only clear cut socialist party that recognizes the nature and necessity of trades unions and that have a clear knowledge of prevailing conditions and have the only correct solution of existing industrial problems. It behoves every workingman to study the platform of the S. D. P. A., and enlist in its ranks for the abolition of wage slavery.

The Social Democratic party advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth—that all capital shall be owned and controlled by the people collectively, and that every individual shall have a free and unlimited opportunity to earn a living and that none shall charge time tribute.

"The result of the Brussels meeting leaves two important points in view. The first is, that no matter what Socialist Labor party men and Social Democrats of this country may think or say about each other, both stand upon an equality in the highest and greatest labor convention in the world, and to both is extended the fraternal hand of comradeship by the Socialists abroad. The second is, that despite the broadness of the invitation to trades unions to send delegates to this influential and important parliament of labor, the American Federation of Labor cannot as yet be represented therein, because under the present administration the Federation is not committed to Socialism or political action independent of the old capitalistic parties."—Cleveland Citizen.

SEEMING ANOMALY EASILY EXPLAINED

WHAT IS CALLED PROSPERITY

Waste and War, Coupled With the Adoption of New Methods of Production, Account for the Fictitious Prosperity Which Will Soon End

By A. S. Lightwater, Groveport, Ohio

A seeming anomaly is presented in the prevalence of strikes and the increasing demand for laborers. But is the situation strange? Of course there are those who will answer immediately that the demand for laborers is due to the strikes, but to a small extent only is that true.

The true explanation of the co-existence of strikes and the demand for laborers is the renewed prosperity of the country. The renewal of the spirit of work, of labor, seems to quarrel about, and the struggle for what each thinks is his right is on between many employers and employees.

Hence, most of the strikes with which the columns of the newspapers are filled, there was news yesterday of a dozen strikes, most of which can be accounted for on this theory. Among them were the strikes of the tailors of New York; the dockmen of Ashland, the Pennsylvania freight handlers of New York, the puddlers of Pittsburg, the coal miners of Indiana, the millmen of Youngstown, the meat packers of Cincinnati and New York, and the street car men of Cleveland. Columbus Dispatch, July 28th.

This seems plausible, doesn't it?

Now without further discussing the explanation given, let us assume that it is correct. And then, what? Why this "explanation" furnishes one of the strongest justifications for the strikers yet given. It is admitted that there is prosperity, that is, there is probably more wealth produced than ever before. The capitalist contends that the enterprising, the industrious should be rewarded with the wealth they produce. This proposition granted and where are we at?

Has not the worker a just claim to, at least, share with the capitalist in this great prosperity? Who created this vast amount of wealth, the worker or the capitalist? Who has caused this tide of prosperity, the worker or the capitalist? All must admit that the workers produce the wealth. It is also apparent that the distribution of their wages among the shopkeepers over the land produces the major part of the prosperity to be seen.

Back of this the ground of our present industrial activity is waste. We have for more than a year now been wasting a million dollars or more daily in war. We have built numerous great war vessels, have manufactured vast quantities of war materials and equipments. We have enlisted, fed and clothed nearly one hundred thousand men all in little more than a year. We are paying the bill of this great waste but call it prosperity. The Dispatch says that renewed prosperity offers something to quarrel over and is the true explanation of the many strikes.

This is anomalous. Workers striking because they have increased prosperity! The statement need only be made to show its absurdity.

We regard the strikes the most hopeful sign of the times. The workers are proving as no other class that they are not insensible to the injustice inflicted upon them by capitalists. They are aware of increased prosperity. They know that immense wealth is being produced. They also know that their wages have been reduced lower than ever before. They know that they are not sharing in the fortunes that are being reaped off their labor.

The strikes are infinitely more hopeful than the marshalling of the thousands under the captains of industry to make pilgrimages to Canton, to worship the god of high tariff; or be marshalled at the polls to vote the dictates of profit mongers. To obey the dictates of capitalists is slavery. To strike against injustice and oppression is manliness and independence. All honor to the strikers, the forerunners of the great social and industrial revolution that will usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Once and awhile a legal decision favorable to the workers slips through. The commandant of the Washington navy yards recently asked permission from the navy department to allow the contractor who is building the new gun ships in the yard to employ his men ten hours a day, because while the work was going on the machinery had to lie idle and was damaged by exposure to the rains. He wanted to hurry the work through. But the judge advocate general's department pointed out that the law permits workingmen for the government to work more than eight hours a day only in cases of extraordinary emergency. The department couldn't see that this was such a case, and it suggested that the proper procedure would be to employ the men in shifts each working eight hours. If a private profit-grubber had been the employer instead of the government the men would have probably been forced into ten hour work. And still there are well meaning men who think it would be awful to have the society take the place of the private, selfish employer.

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UNSANITARY CAPITALISM

It's a hopeful thing that those wretched outcasts and victims of our present form of society, the wandering bum and unclean and discouraged hobo, are to have the "hotels" they live in in the congested city districts regularly inspected. Of course this is to be done in but one of our many large cities and also, it is done more in the interests of the safety of the more fortunate classes than through actual pity for the condition of these fallen, degraded men—but it is a good sign just the same. Such an effort is but one of the many effects of the sociological study that the Socialist work of the past and the present has forced upon the people. Socialism's trumpet call to duty and its challenge to the satisfied class is bearing fruit. It is the plan to prevent more than six persons sleeping in a room at one time, and the room must be large enough to give each occupant 400 cubic feet of air space. But yet, after all, how pitiful it all is! This ideal society that the capitalists prate about, has to even make rules for its filthy lodging houses to prevent the stifling and the slow killing off of its most sunken victims. And then turn to the picture of hope and wholesomeness and even-handed justice that Socialism presents to our view. Under Socialism we will have no cheap lodging houses to force rules upon, and no poor creatures in need of such accommodation. Work harder, comrades, every stroke brings that glorious day nearer and nearer, and there is no valid reason why we should not have Socialism in our own day. How it will crown our lives after all these days of entreaty, hope and worry! Consecrate yourself to it. Swear anew every morning to waste not one of the precious moments.

SHOULD THE POOR MARRY?

Some of the well-to-do men of Chicago, who are not with their families at the seaside, have been discussing the momentous question whether poor young men should marry, and a lot of cheap and insolent things have been said. For example: One declared that it costs no more to support two persons than one; another thought it foolish for a young man to get married who is "earning no more than \$6 a week;" a fourth tells us that it is better for such a man to marry—"better for the man and better for the State;" he didn't say why, but that is understood—it is better because it breeds and perpetuates slave souls which are necessary to the upholding of the capitalist system; another one first vice-president of the Illinois Steel company, had the effrontery to make a comparison between one high-priced man who is paid \$11 a day and another who receives \$1.50, and, said he, the former spends his money and saves nothing, while the other "has a house and lot." Not a word as to the fact that the salaried employee LIVES and enjoys life, while the other, if he really owns a house and lot, which is doubtful, is a drudge and a slave, the victim of a habit which stunts the soul, narrows the life and perpetuates a race of cringing, ignorant and stupid toilers for the benefit of upstart and brutal exploiters; that is the habit of saving. Fancy clerks saving on \$6 a week to get married! Fancy workmen with families saving on \$1.50 a day to get a home, while these modern Samuel Smiles of Chicago live in palaces, surrounded by luxuries and have "money to burn"—without work!

In the balances of genuine human worth let the clerk Frank Zajicek be weighed against this Smiles push, puffed up with their own importance and the wealth wrung from the slavish working class. Frank was a clerk in one of Chicago's department stores. He lost his job—as clerks and others do if they have will-power or intelligence "unbecoming" to their "station in life"—lost it, too, when he was in love and contemplated marrying the girl of his choice. Filled with conflicting emotions, discouraged by his prospects in life, driven to madness at the thought of his shattered love dreams, Frank sought a secluded spot and shot himself. The content of a note

he left behind told the story of a fine, aspiring nature and an honorable mind, victimized by a system so enormously unjust that no young man can safely marry—no matter what his present wage may be.

"My heart is broke," wrote Frank Zajicek. "Please tell her not to take it too hard. I thought it would be for the best to part. I could not ruin any girl's happiness by marrying her, as I could not support her."

Young men and young women: For your own happiness and welfare, as well for the welfare and happiness of society at large, study Socialism and learn that there is possible a readjustment of social relations in which all may be free to live and love without mastery of one class over another.

THE GOLDEN RULE

The campaign of Samuel M. Jones for governor of Ohio promises to be one of the most unique in the history of the country, not because it is certain of defeat and will disappoint those who are promoting it, but for the reason that it starts out with a disavowal of politics and a repudiation of political organization. Mr. Jones has written his own platform and declared that henceforth he will not be an adherent of any political party; but at the same time he is to be a candidate for governor of his State, provided the people, acting under laws enacted by that State for the political regulation of elections, manifest a desire for him to do so. A non-political candidate for public office is thus compelled at the very outset to resort to the established political methods to promote his candidacy. How he will proceed as his canvass advances we shall see; and how, in the very remote contingency of election, he would discharge the duties of a political office in the letter and spirit of the golden rule and not according to the constitution and laws of the State of Ohio, none of us are able to conjecture.

But it is with Mr. Jones' platform that we are concerned most, since we cannot agree to the claims of his friends that he "will be elected by a big majority." The platform is the "Golden Rule," translated by Mr. Jones into the Jeffersonian-Populistic phrase: "Equal opportunities for all and special privileges to none." While we can all agree in our admiration for the benevolent spirit of the man Jones, and few of us will fall out in discussing his motives, which, let it be said, are pure and unselfish, there is something to be said about the Golden Rule which may shock Mr. Jones and his zealous supporters. That something is that the Golden Rule is impracticable. That rule carried out under the existing social and industrial system (if such an achievement were thinkable) would bankrupt society and reduce us all to mendicants. Try and put it into practice by going out tomorrow and doing for every man just what you would have all men do for you; let all men do that and what would be the result? Simply that you would not go in before discovering that the thing is impossible.

For two thousand years the human race, or that portion of it which has come under the influence of Christianity, has had the Golden Rule preached at it, and the Pennsylvania Railroad company has got as far as to propose giving back in the form of a pension a small part of the wealth which its employees of thirty years' service have created. For two thousand years men have built millions of churches, the churches have consecrated millions of priests and preachers, the preachers and priests have expended uncounted millions of money—all to the Golden Rule. People have listened to preaching about it and have prayed about it; mothers have taught it to their children in palace and hovel; men and women have lingered in loathsome prisons and died at the burning stake—all for the Golden Rule. And only last week an old man over seventy, poor and needing bread, was robbed of the last of a number of inventions by one who knows as well as the Socialists that under the capitalist system of production the rule is "Do others or they'll do you."

The preaching of the Golden Rule has failed and will fail to improve the condition of workingmen. The more men try to practice it under a system of private exploitation of labor, the more they will see its impracticability. And yet with two thousand years of failure, it finds reaffirmation in Ohio.

Jaurès, Socialist leader of France, made a speech at Rennes and appealed to the Socialists to refrain from all demonstrations and remain calm.... There have been some disputes between the Patriots and Socialists in France, but no serious encounter.... M. Jaurès expects that in connection with the Dreyfus case there will be a great exposure of a conspiracy against the republic and that the attitude of the present government against certain generals will be more than justified by the coming revelations.... Emile Vanderbilt, the brilliant leader of the Socialists of Belgium, has this to say to workingmen: "Workingmen who fill themselves with gin are not capable of marching with us to the conquest of a better future. Those who aspire to the moral direction of a people ought to master themselves first of all." These are good words fitly spoken and also a good answer to those who call Socialism a product of the saloon.

BOOK REVIEWS

"Uncle Sam in Business" is the title of a 64-page pamphlet published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago; price, 10 cents.

The author, Daniel Bond, criticizes the present industrial system, and then proceeds, as if writing to a friend abroad, to state the process by which people in the United States evolve from capitalism to collectivism, and the process of government absorption of all industry.

While this work avoids some of the blunders in the process of transition in "President John Smith," it by no means avoids the greatest.

The government, according to this author, starts certain mercantile and industrial enterprises, issuing its own labor checks, etc., and in a plan somewhat improving upon the Bernardi system of the labor exchange, carries on industries and competes with private enterprises so successfully that men voluntarily give up their business to the government and receive checks in return equal in purchasing power to the value they surrender.

Considering the fact that almost everyone before getting the slightest conception of Socialism is desirous of knowing how it is to be ushered in, what particular and peculiar rules will govern and regulations of the most minute details to the most stupendous, it may be well to call their attention to such works as this.

At the time of the Declaration of Independence it would have been impossible for two men to agree as to the future formation of the American Republic, or that there should be such an institution. The Congress of 1777 at its inception was far from agreeing, and in fact was not unanimous at its dissolution in 1778. If history teaches us anything it teaches us that the detailed methods and precise regulations of social revolutions are not anticipated and figured out like a mathematical problem.

There have been many theories expounded as to how the government shall cease to be the police power of capitalism and become the organizer of labor, all of which are open to merited adverse criticism, and to the novice in economics it seems to me we should simply explain the principles which Socialists have discovered in economic evolution and tell him frankly that no man can do more than guess at the best possible method of transition. In fact, inquiries which call forth such books as this show clearly the necessity of teaching to those individuals the scientific basis upon which the proletariat government is founded.

Those who are speculating on this subject may find this book of interest.

Seymour Stedman.

Party or League

Herbert Casson, discussing Mr. Parsons' new Labor party, asks the question in the New York Journal, "Would it not be wiser to form a labor league than a labor party?"

His answer to the question is in the affirmative, and advocates the policy of choosing and electing the best men from both the old parties.

If this advice were given solely to Mr. Parsons and those gentlemen whose only request is that employers shall treat their employees with more consideration than they have done heretofore, I should have no quarrel with it; but when it is proffered to Socialists as well, then I, for one, must join issues with Mr. Casson on that point.

The difference between the Socialists and those who are trades-unionists simply, is that the latter accept the existing economic conditions and seek to improve the lot of the workers thereunder; whereas the Socialists see, as the worker's only hope, a revolution in the economic structure of society.

It is this very essential difference which, apparently, Mr. Casson overlooks. It is quite possible that, by holding the balance of power at elections, the workers might force the capitalists into making them some partial concessions, but so long as they retain political power, the capitalists as a class will resist every attack made against the fundamental principles of the existing social order.

The idea that either of the two existing political parties can be induced to accept Socialism has long since been exploded. As Mr. Casson admits (when he says that "Gould, Havemeyer and Rockefeller, instead of forming new parties, used the two already in existence"), both Democrats and Republicans are capitalists; their interests capitalistic; and therefore they will always use the powers of office for the promotion of those interests.

Another point to be remembered is, that the Socialists by forming their own independent organization at once secure to themselves their proportionate influence among outsiders; whereas, if they become immersed in either of the two great parties their influence would be lost upon outsiders, until they became a majority in the party.

As to his suggestion of voting for the best men in both parties, Mr. Casson should have learned by now that it is not the one or two advanced individuals who dictate to the party the policy to be pursued when in office, and that so soon as one member of either organization becomes distasteful to the capitalists who run the parties he is quickly dismissed from the parties' service.

Are we all to hang on to the old parties until we are kicked out, as did Sam

Jones? I suggest that such a course would only result in degrading Socialists and retarding their progress.

When Mr. Casson says: "Don't let us have a class-conscious battle between trades-unionists and all the rest of the world," I agree with him.

So long as men are content with the relationship of employer and employee, the class war will remain. When we extend the field, and make the issues Socialism or Capitalism, class-consciousness need no longer be the spirit.

Socialism is not a question of class, it is one of moral development.

Just as soon as a man is unwilling to live as a parasite upon his fellows he becomes a Socialist at heart, and it is only a question of time, if he thinks for himself, instead of being led by popular opinion, before he becomes conscious of the fact.

No one particular class has alone reached this stage of moral development.

The workingman who is ready to share in the advances made at the cost of suffering to others, and is unwilling to contribute his share towards the world's uplifting, is as much, in spirit, a capitalist as is a Havemeyer or a Rockefeller. Any one, be he worker or idler, who lives and acts upon the motto, "Get as much as you can and give as little as possible," is a friend of capitalism and a foe to Socialism.

I know many employers who are better Socialists than the men they employ.

To attempt to confine Socialism to one particular class, is to mar its beauty, and to rob it of its strength; it is to make a sectarian dogma of what, rightly understood, is the gospel of humanity.

Therefore, I am with Mr. Casson when he opposes a new trades-unionist political party, but if his advice was meant for Socialists as well, my answer is, YOU CANNOT SERVE BOTH GOD AND MAMMON; YOU CANNOT BE A SOCIALIST AND A CAPITALIST. Lionel Levogue.

Give Them Battle

If direct legislation were advocated simply as one of the features of a Socialist program to be brought into play under a Socialist administration, very few if any reformers would object to it. But when it is intended as a substitute for the formation of a Socialist party, and when those who are agitating in its behalf expect to remove all legal and constitutional obstacles in its way by means of the two existing parties, which are simply the right and left wings of our plutocratic system, then it is time to throw down the gauntlet of protest; for the advocacy of this measure at this time, and under such conditions, can have no other effect than to weaken the Socialist party and give to the plutocracy and its satellites a new lease of life.

All Socialists should set their faces like flint against any measure or any attempted measure that will divide its forces and lead astray the minds of the people from the one true path.

This is a battle that we are fighting, and we must have all the shrewdness and strategic keenness of a general commanding his forces. We must watch, not only all the movements of the enemy, the upholders of the competitive system: who will employ all the means at their command for our destruction, but also those who, actuated by the best of motives, are unintentionally playing into the enemy's hands.

There is defensive and offensive warfare. The time has come for the employment of both methods. Let us stand by our guns. Imogene C. Fales.

"My humanity stops at the Vosges," says the ruler of Germany, and he echoes the sentiment of his class the world over. The interests of the ruling class, which is made up of the puppets of the capitalist class, are limited to the Vosges of selfishness and its humanity is a question of per cents., involving the commission of every crime and setting the standard for the patriotism of the masses.

It is this defensive and offensive warfare. The time has come for the employment of both methods. Let us stand by our guns. Imogene C. Fales.

"Why, your fathers were contented Just to labor with our tools." You are right," our sons will answer, "But our fathers have been fools!"

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

HORSE TALES

A Fall

On a frosty winter's morning,
Up a steep and icy hill,
Two work horses pulled their burdens
With an equal strength and will.

One kept steadily ascending
On the smooth and slippery ground,
Till at last it stood, triumphant,
On the summit, safe and sound.

But the other, though as stalwart
And as willing to do well,
In its strain to pull its burden
Slipped upon the ice, and fell.

One received its driver's praises,
One its driver's curses got,
But this secret tells the story—
One was shod, and one was not.

Some who climb the hill of labor
In these wintry days of greed,
Reach the summit of achievement
By the force of stalwart deed.

Others, just as strong and willing,
Just as mighty in their strain,
Stumble on the icy pathway,
Fall, and never rise again.

Oftentimes we spurn the fallen
With a touch of selfish scorn,
When the system that we vote for
Curses them before they're born.

Not the true man's part to blame them,
Nor to chide them when they fall,
But to learn this social precept,
Fall of one is fault of all!

A Fool

Once upon a time, 'tis stated,
Lived a philosophic mule,
Who in his own mulish manner
Was much wiser than the rule.

Now his master was a farmer,
Of an economic mind,
Who demanded much for little,
Like the rest of humankind.

When the mule was given thistles
In the place of fragrant hay,
He protested with a vigor
In his own peculiar way.

Quoth the farmer, "Why, your father
Would eat this instead of grass."
"That may be," the mule made answer,
"But my father was an ass!"

We who labor for a master,
And receive a slave's reward,
Bow in trembling obedience
To the dictate of a lord.

We are thankful for the thistles,
Never asking for the hay;
Giving maximum of labor,
Getting minimum of pay.

When our sons, to freedom waking,
Scorn a wage, and ask a right,
Their industrial oppressors
Will exclaim in their affright,

"Why, your fathers were contented
Just to labor with our tools."
"You are right," our sons will answer,
"But our fathers have been fools!"

A Fact

I had driven to the village,
Tied the horse before a store,
Bought some things, got in the carriage,
Took the reins, as oft before.

But the horse, a gentle creature,
And obedient, if slow,
Shook her head in blunt refusal,
Steadily refused to go.

So I pulled the reins up shorter,
Tried my whiplash, temper, tongue,
But in spite of all endeavors
Still to that same spot she clung.

By and by an urchin, grinning,
Watched my efforts failure bring,
Said, when hope and hand had weakened,
"Why don't you untie the thing?"

Now the chariot of progress,
Drawn along by labor-power,
Halts upon the road of business,
Moveless in this moving hour.

Vain

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25¢ per month.

CALIFORNIA

Branch No. 1, San Francisco, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock at 117 Turk St. Public invited. Secretary, Val Britton, 117 Turk St.

COLORADO.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday evening at Woodman's Hall, 11th California street, Denver, Colo., 3 p.m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1799 Washington street.

CONNECTICUT.

Branch 3 (Coan), New Haven, meets 1st and 3d Tuesday in the month, at 233 Cedar St., at 3 p.m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 162 Frank St.

ILLINOIS.

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 204 Wabash Ave.

Branch 4, Chicago, Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturday evenings at Nagi's Hall, 535 S. Halsted Ave. Secretary, Vaclav Jelinek, 436 W. 18th St.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 2d and 4th Monday of each month at J. J. Dundras' place, 1080 W. 18th Place. Secretary, Frank Ort, 865 W. 18th St.

Branch 4, Chicago, meets every first and third Monday evenings of the month, at 29 St. Louis Ave. Secretary, Mrs. Mary Horgao, 1405 Fullerton St.

Branch No. 5 Illinois meets 2d and 4th Sundays of each month at J. J. Dundras' place, 1080 W. 18th Street. corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Glatzka, 47 Ruebe St.

Branch 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first and third Saturday evening at 8 o'clock at Nagi's Hall, 535 Blue Island avenue, near 18th street. Emil Tilly, 699 W. 21st street.

Branch 9, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 1st and Morgan streets, every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westine, Sec'y, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA.

Branch No. 8, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichel's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND.

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 4 p.m. at Carpenter's Hall, 505 E. Baltimore street. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St. Fin. Sec-Treas.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 9 p.m. at 31 W. German St. Secretary, Frank Mareck, 1608 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 33 Summer St., near Market St., business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p.m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St. Fin. Sec-Treas.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the 1st and 3d Tuesday of each month for business, in Cutler's Hall, Clark's Block Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 322 W. Elm street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at 99 Chelsea St. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster St. Sec.

Branch No. 9, Massachusetts, Brockton—Meets first and third Tuesday each month for business, in Cutler's hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, 322 W. Elm street.

Branch 11, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 9 p.m. in room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. Alfred B. Outram, sec., 72 Ash street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 72 W. Walton St., Boston. All news and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 West Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

MINNESOTA.

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geswink, on Main St. Wm. H. Randall, sec.

MISSOURI.

St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val. Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

St. Louis Central Branch composed of all members in the city, meets every 3d Sunday afternoon, 2:30 p.m. at Achenbroedel Hall, 50 Market St. Lecture and general discussion at every meeting. Public invited.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 1300 Union Ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

NEW YORK.

Branch 10 (4th Ass'n Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3d Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 107 Henry St. Jacob Panken, 141 E. Broadway, Org.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3d Thursday, 7:30 p.m. at 112 Clinton St. Guyer, Sec-Treas.

Branch 1, New York (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 33 E. 6th St. L. Funcke, 239 E. 58th St. Sec.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass'n Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor" at 112 Clinton street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 231 Madison street.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y., Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 231 Rutledge street, meets every 3d Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 231 Rutledge St. Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York (28th Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 233 E. 5th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street, in the Social Democratic League rooms. Alex. Kahn, 118 Broome St., secretary.

OHIO.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohl's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p.m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p.m.

Branch 8, Cincinnati, meets every 2d and 4th Saturday, in Workmen's Hall, 1319 Walnut St. Secretary, J. L. Franz, 1314 Walnut St.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; secretary, Gen. B. Laird, 22 W. 5th street.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p.m. Funk Hall, South 24th and Josephine sts. President, W. Bohn, 122 Addison St. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 218 Jene St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 614 South Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Milwaukee Club, 601 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuitt, chairman; Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday in the hall at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Avenue. R. Schoen, 8th street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 712 Twenty-third street.

Branch 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday at 8 p.m. at R. Sigel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard street and 8th Avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 781 Windgate Avenue.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, Wis., meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin "Forward," 614 State St.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterius' grocery, 777 Center street, at 8 p.m. John Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p.m. sharp at No. 611 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1899.

Massachusetts' Doings

At its meeting on July 29th the Massachusetts State Committee transacted a good deal of important business.

A reply was received and read by the secretary from Comrade Debs, stating definitely that it would be impossible for him to come to Massachusetts to assist us in the campaign this fall, owing to previous lecture engagements, which could not be canceled. I hope the comrades will not think the committee is to blame for not writing before these engagements were made, because a similar reply was received to our request made in March last, though we still continued to hope for the best until the receipt of this last letter.

It was voted to secure, if possible, the services of Comrade McCartney exclusively for a month previous to the election, and I am happy to be able to report that Comrade McCartney has since agreed to our proposition.

The matter of nomination papers was placed in the hands of a committee consisting of Comrades Dr. Konikow and S. E. Putney. This committee has found, upon application, that the nomination papers cannot be had before the last of September. This is disappointing, as we wanted to have the hustle of getting signatures over and done with before we got into the thick of the campaign; but it won't take us long to get the signatures this year with so many willing workers.

In order to familiarize the public with our State ticket and our name, it was voted to get out cards or "stickers" with the cuts of our candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor, with an exhortation to vote for our candidates, etc. These can be distributed or put up in all available places by our comrades as they travel through the State.

It was decided that we should need a hundred thousand campaign leaflets, these to contain an address to the voters, our declaration of principles and demands, and our State ticket. As it was considered desirable that these leaflets should be under way before the next meeting of the State Committee, Comrade Margaret Haile was elected a committee to prepare the address to the voters, with an advisory committee, consisting of Comrades Carey, Chase, Porter and Coffin.

The plan was adopted of having a board of State organizers, some one of whom must be present wherever a branch is organized in this State. A set of instructions to be given to all new branches by the organizers was adopted, which will, of course, be added to and perfected from time to time. The board at present consists of Comrades Porter, Chase, Carey, McCartney, Lowell, Putney and Barr. In addition to being more systematic, and necessary to secure uniformity of organization, this plan is essential as a precautionary measure to guard against irresponsible parties, who perhaps are not Socialists at all, organizing branches on their own account and for their own purposes.

And again for the purpose of familiarizing people with our name and our State ticket, it was voted to have the same printed on the back of the contribution cards.

Remember the picnic on the 20th. Franklin Park station is the point you are to reach, and from there you can see the grove. The electrics leave Scollay Square every half hour, at 7 minutes and 37 minutes past the hour. Come down good and early. Coming home, there is a train at 6:23, which is very convenient for those who may not find room on the electrics. Dinner will begin at one o'clock, and the speaking and band concert at three. Let every comrade do his utmost to bring as many people with him as possible, bearing in mind that the proceeds are for the purpose of supplying us with the sinews of war.

New York Joint Meeting

Several important matters were acted upon at the Joint Meeting of the S. D. P. of Greater New York, held at 85 East Fourth street, on Thursday evening, August 10th, and for the benefit of those who were not present the secretary was instructed to make this report in the press.

The Joint Meeting authorized the Campaign Committee to declare the place vacant of any member who should be absent from two consecutive meetings of that committee, and to request the district to which he belongs to fill the vacancy by electing another to take his place.

A committee of three, consisting of Comrades Ingerman, Weinstock and Leaf, was elected to define the duties and the extent and limit of the authority of the Campaign Committee and report to this Joint Meeting.

They submitted the following report, which was adopted:

"We, the Committee elected tonight to define duties, etc., of the Campaign Committee, make the following recommendations:

"1. That the Campaign Committee shall have control and keep account of

all money subscribed for the general campaign fund.

"2. All campaign literature shall be edited and controlled by the Campaign Committee.

"3. The Campaign Committee shall consult with any district in matters pertaining to the welfare of said district when called upon to do so.

"4. The Campaign Committee shall attend to all work required to be done, such as printing application blanks, collecting signatures, arranging meetings, etc.

"5. The Campaign Committee shall make a report at every Joint Meeting.

"6. The Campaign Committee shall have power to call a Joint Meeting whenever they think it necessary or desirable."

State and municipal platforms were submitted by the Campaign Committee, and with several amendments and additions were adopted. They were referred back to the committee to be put in proper shape with amendments, etc., added.

The Picnic Committee reported that all arrangements had been made and that all that is left is for the comrades to come, bring their friends and "have a good Social Democratic time."

E. P. Jennings, Jr., Sec:

New Branches

The brave and devoted members of the branch at Rockville, Conn., who have given to the party such a splendid example of earnest and continuous work during the past year, will no longer be alone in maintaining our cause and principles.

A new branch with a thoroughly alert and intelligent membership, ready to co-operate with other branches in the state to make Connecticut a second Massachusetts, has been organized.

Officers have been elected as follows: Chairman, William P. Lonergan; vice-chairman, Thomas Lisk; secretary, Charles Goehring; treasurer, Richard Niederwerfer; organizer, John J. Ryan.

The West responds again, as it did last week, to the East with a new branch instituted at Portland, Oregon, which strengthens the movement materially in that state. The officers elected are: Chairman, T. C. Wendland; vice-chairman, C. C. Richards; secretary, F. E. Smith; treasurer, F. Rosiger; organizer, C. R. Silver.

Cleveland's Social Democrats

The branches of the Social Democratic party at Cleveland in joint meeting adopted the following resolutions and donated \$10 to the striking street railway men:

"Whereas, The principles and teachings of international Socialism and of the Social Democratic party of America recognize that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalistic system of production and distribution, which is responsible for the present conflicts of class interests in the industrial world; and

"Whereas, While we believe the only proper solution for existing difficulties to be the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution through political action, we nevertheless recognize in common with our party, that until that time comes, the workers will have to struggle to even maintain their present position in the economic field; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Cleveland branches of the Social Democratic party in joint session pledge their hearty sympathy and support to the members of Division No. 106, A. A. S. R. E. of A., in their struggle for more just and humane conditions and the recognition of their union; and further be it

"Resolved, That if any friends of Division No. 106 be inclined to resort to violence or destruction of property, we beg of them to leave such deeds to unprincipled hirelings of plutocracy, and urge on our friends and workers to meet the oppressors at the ballot box, where we can abolish the conditions producing the present results."

PROPAGANDA FUND.

"Appeal to Reason," Kansas..... \$ 1.00

Eng. W. Debs, Ind..... .50

"John Brown," N. Y..... .25

"P. Miller," Texas..... .25

"W. G. Burk," Texas..... .50

Joint meeting S. D. P. branches Baltimore, Md..... 3.50

W. I. Hood, Ohio..... .25

Harris Osterman, N. Y..... .25

Julius Robinson, Conn..... .25

G. W. Strobel, N. J..... 2.00

Wm. J. Curds, Ind..... .25

Fridman, R. I..... .25

A. Cohen, "..... .25

J. Gardner, "..... .10

J. Fine, "..... .10

J. Sperling, "..... .10

Wm. Leaf, "..... .25

J. Weissman, "..... .25

Abraham Kahn, "..... .25

M. G.

VIEW OF HISTORY FROM SOCIALIST STANDPOINT

History has so long been a mere record of the lives of kings, of accounts of court intrigues, and of the waging of wars, that the real science of history has scarcely been touched, and it is no exaggeration to say that up to this century it had not been touched at all.

It was Karl Marx who first dealt with history scientifically, by formulating what is known as the materialist interpretation of history. Briefly put, it is that the basis underlying the social edifice is industry, and that if you wish to understand the religious, moral, intellectual, political, social, or judicial institutions of any period, the key to them all, and the only key, is by making yourself acquainted with the system of producing and distributing wealth which prevails in that period—that, instead of its being true, as had been held before, that the advancing ideas of society changed the condition of society, that it was the changing condition of society that changed the ideas of society.

Once having grasped the fact, the study of history is much simplified. The history of this country during the last 800 years shows the transition of a nation from feudalism, with its accompanying Catholicism, monasticism, agriculture, hand production, and the free organization of the workers in the trade guilds, to commercialism, with its machine production, its factory system, its women labor, sweating, adulteration, armaments, blighted agriculture, Protestantism, Hooleyism and Hooliganism.

Under the feudalism set up by William I., in the eleventh century, the king was the predominant political factor. He owned all the land, letting it out to barons, who let it out to others, and so on. This lasted about 200 years, during which the power of the king receded, and the power of the barons and of the Church increased. At the end of the thirteenth century the power had passed into the hands of the barons. In the struggle we are told the barons were imbued with the noble principles of liberty, patriotism, etc., and we are supposed to glow with pride over Magna Charta, the first Parliament, and over Simon de Merton, the son of the bloodthirsty persecutor of the Albigenses. As a matter of fact, the barons were simply wroth with the king for having pulled down many of their castles, and disbanded their ruffianly mercenaries with whom they used to engage in wholesale plundering and murdering of the country population. It is worth noting, however, that the merchant class had already become so strong that their help was necessary to enable the barons to come off victorious and they were accordingly rewarded by the representation of the towns in the Parliament in their own interest. They soon found an opportunity of utilizing the power of the State to their own advantage.

The black death, a terrible disease, which, according to report, resembled the plague that India has lately suffered from, swept off half the population of this country, and, in consequence of the scarcity of labor, wages went up. The Parliament, instigated by the merchant class, immediately enacted that any workman who was so audacious as to demand a rise should be punished. Late in an address given before that Fabian institution, the London School of Economics, Professor Hewins, with that eagerness to defend the middle class that distinguishes the Fabian, told us that Parliament was not animated with any class interest, but that they enacted this law in the interest of the community and that they had as much right to regulate the price of labor as that of any other commodity. It seems rather strange that it did not occur to Parliament to fix a minimum as well as a maximum rate of wages if they were simply desirous of considering the community.

This law—the Statute of Laborers—probably did a good deal to stir up the agitation among the peasant class which resulted in Wat Tyler's insurrection. The first outbreak of the peasant revolt occurred in France (the Jackuerie), afterwards spreading to England, Germany and other parts. It is interesting to note the insurrection was anti-clerical in character, the followers of Wyclif in England, and the Anabaptists in Germany, both sworn enemies of the Church, taking a prominent part therein. Communism was also held up as the ideal by John Ball in England, while the German movement seems also to have been communist.

The insurrection dealt a fatal blow to feudalism, and may be called the first international labor movement. Perhaps it would not be amiss here to give a brief description of feudalism.

Under feudalism, we are told by Thorold Rogers, who went carefully into the matter, that the purchasing power of the worker's wage was much more approximate to production than at the present time, although his work did not exceed eight hours a day; that a large portion of the year was given up to religious feast days and holidays. The peasant always had a good piece of land which he cultivated, and he had fixity of tenure. In the towns the artisan had, through the guilds, no cause to dread old age, as the modern worker does. The

guilds provided for the worker in his old age, looked after the widows and orphans, did something towards the education of the children.

The municipalities of the country were largely controlled by the guilds and exercised the control over the life and happiness of the people that we Socialists are trying to restore to them. And while we Socialists are strongly opposed to clericalism, in those days the Vatican acted as a sort of international tribunal of arbitration. Of course, its decisions were invariably in favor of the wealthier and more powerful of the two opponents, but as all these quarrels were between various sections of aristocratic rascals, the worker was benefited by peace, war then meaning the ravaging of territory and the burning of homes.

It is curious to note that the passage from feudalism to commercialism has been marked by the destruction of the municipality to make way for the bourgeois State and the gradual replacement of internationalism by an intense national feeling leading to patriotism, jingoism and imperialism—in a word, the community, instead of old, trying to benefit the individuals who composed it, tries to extend its domination over a large number of people. We have seen that the peasant's war dealt a heavy blow to the power of the feudal lords, and in less than a century afterwards the latter performed the happy dispatch on themselves by splitting into two sections and mutually annihilating each other in the Wars of the Roses after the style of Kilkenney cats. Then the discovery of America, the gold discoveries, and the consequent development of commerce rendered the advance of the middle class irresistible. Then came that expropriation of the people from the land, that spoliation of the church lands, that confiscation of the property of the workers' guilds which forced the working class into the position of hereditary wage slaves. The destruction of the power of the barons and clergy left the middle class in possession of Parliament, and the king the only barrier to their political and social predominance. In the civil war between king and Parliament in the seventeenth century the power of the king was broken, and it is interesting to note that one of the first results of middle class rule was that two commercial wars broke out in six years after the overthrow of the king.

These noble democrats, whom it is considered reactionary not to worship, distinguished their victory by the selling of their opponents into slavery. I am one of those who do not think very much of this heterogeneous collection of Praise God Barebones, the precursors of the Nonconformist Conscience. Since then the enormous advance of machinery has placed the worker more and more under the heel of the middle class. Through the unbridled use of machinery the workman has been replaced by the workwoman, and the latter by the work-child. Agriculture has been reduced to a very low ebb, and the sole concern of the majority of the people is to acquire as much wealth as possible in order to dominate their fellows. In religion, individualism is also the rule; the desire of every religionist to reach heaven means the desire to get there by himself, letting his neighbors go to hell. The rule of the average man is do your best to get on, both in this world and another somewhere in the clouds. But the competition which has produced this is passing away. A battle can not last forever, and the middle class are gradually getting reconciled to the prospect of collectivism. The final battle, now fast approaching, will be fought between state capitalism and social democracy.—P. Freidberg, in London Justice.

Engineers' Capitalist Chief
Some of our exchanges express surprise that Chief Arthur, of the locomotive engineers, should ride on boycotted Big Consolidated cars. It is rather surprising when it is considered that he owns an elegant coach, coachman and footman and might just as well be driven to his office—just like the other "labor leaders" of this town. This reminds us that the wonderful chief made another one of his masterstrokes in New York. It will be remembered that Arthur advised the elevated railway engineers to refuse to strike in sympathy with the trolley men, and he and his henchmen sneaked in at the back door of the company and secured a promise from President Rossiter that, although electric motors would be substituted for steam power, the wages of the engineers would not be reduced. But no sooner do the trolley strikers lose their fight, then Rossiter turns around and makes the elevated engineers motorers and cuts their wages from \$3.50 to \$2.50 a day! Surely, if the engineers are bound to keep a capitalist at the head of their order, who does the bidding of the Vanderbilts, Rossiters and Everetts, they must take the consequences. It is useless to characterize Arthur as a traitor to the labor movement. Everybody has known that for years.—Cleveland Citizen.

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Not only will the generation of power by liquid air abolish combustion of coal and disrobe our cities of their dismal mantles of smoke, but a revolution may be looked for in our industrial, economic and social systems. Houses will be heated and food cooked by electricity developed free of cost. Transportation on land and water, and possibly also in the air, will be as free as air. Flying machines may be as common as bicycles.

The tremendous cessation of demand for men's labor, owing to the substitution of nature's labor, will develop the hugest unemployed army the world has beheld. Socialism will prove to be the only possible solution of the problem of how to equalize production with distribution and consumption.

It is most extraordinary that when any great advance is to be made in man's progress, the "scientists" are always at hand to explain its impossibility. "Scientists" said that the sun moved round the earth, that bodies fell at a speed relative to their weight, and they wished to burn Galileo at the stake for proving them to be jackasses. "Scientists" refused to consider Adam's proof of the position of Neptune. "Scientists" said that steam was an impracticable agent for locomotion; that the division of the electric current was impossible; that Bell's telephone was a fake; that Marconi's wireless telegraphy was ridiculous. They still say that a "trust" is an unnatural and ephemeral product and is bound to self-destruction.

They still say that Socialism is an iridescent dream, and that the present system of society is gifted with perpetual life, when to the most casual observer it is seen to be in the last stages of permanent dissolution. These blind leaders of the blind never arrive at any profound conclusions from theoretical deductions. These scientific Gradgrinds must have facts, facts, facts. No matter how clear the theoretical demonstration of a problem may be, if the acceptance of the proof carries with it a great reversal of preconceived ideas, then acceptance is never given until the practical demonstration makes further caviling impossible. Tripler will once more prove that we have not advanced intellectually one iota since Socrates quaffed the hemlock to satisfy the envy of the "scientists" of his day.—H. G. Wilshire.

French Socialist Journals

While we are familiar with the figures of the Socialist vote in Germany and France, the foreigner is always surprised at the number and quality of the Socialist periodicals that flourish in those countries. This is more especially true in the case of France. Easily first among the French Socialist periodicals stands La Revue Socialiste. This review was founded in 1885 by Benoit Malon, the apostle of what he termed "integral Socialism." The distinctive note of Malon's integral Socialism is that it lays greater stress upon the intellectual and moral factors than does the pure Marxian Socialism. This position, implying as it does an accusation of inadequacy against Marxism, gave the Revue in its earlier years a somewhat sectarian tone. A very animated controversy was waged for some years between Malon and his disciples and the French Marxians, Lafargue, Guesde, and especially Deville, who is the ablest writer among the French Marxians.

La Revue Socialiste has now, happily, lost this sectarian note, and has become the organ for discussion for all French Socialists. Its pages are open to all schools of Socialist thought, and Gabriel Deville himself is now one of its most valued contributors. It appears on the 15th of each month with 128 well printed octavo pages. Typographically and mechanically it compares favorably with the best English and American reviews. The literary and economic quality of its contents will be understood when I say that among the frequent contributors are Jean Jaurès, Tolstoy, Liebknecht, Eugene Fournier, Emile Vandervelde, Henri Brissac, etc.

May the day soon come when Commonwealth may grow into an American counterpart of La Revue Socialiste! In the meantime American Socialists who know French will do well to read La Revue Socialiste. We are glad to know that many of them do so. A private letter to the writer from Valery Hermay, the secretary of the management, states that the American circulation of the Revue is increasing rapidly. This is a good and hopeful sign, and shows that there is room in America for a review which shall present the best contemporary thought on economic and social subjects.—Robert Rives LaMonte in Commonwealth.

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THE PLATFORM

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That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessors class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large masses of wage workers, who are deprived of the social and individual rights to the product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system are the basis of the conception of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief enabling factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reformist parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

A step in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopoly, to be nationalized.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities;

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; all land and mineral rights, wells;

5. Reduction of the cost of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.